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But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says:

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"It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter." [76]

FIG. 8.—Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Rank Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

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"The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience." [77]

Hawkins names this house the "chooc-ofau thluc-co"—Tcokō'fa lā'ko, "house with a big room," as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

"This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side,

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 423. [77] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 280-286.

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fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year." [80]

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer." [81]

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Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee teokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection.[81a] The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

[80] Bartram, Travels, pp. 366-367.

[81] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 508.

[81a] It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee mike, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee mike "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was out or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 85, p. 13.

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"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [87]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low-arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter.

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [88]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay morter; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun-

[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 264-265.
[88] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 59-64.

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344 [623] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary[a] dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

[a] "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

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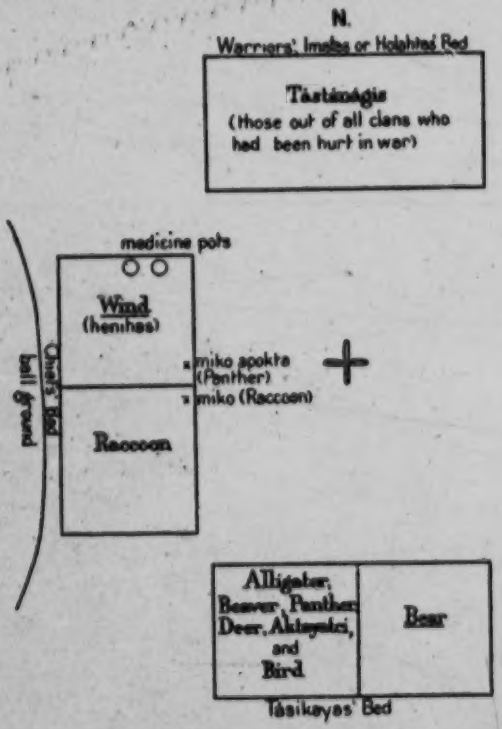

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

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554 302 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say: "The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti âtcagâgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the â-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the âsi was the prerogative of the henihâlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the âsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

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In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

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[47] See p. 346.
[48] See p. 486.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 328.

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574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[2]

796 Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

•623 "As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

[2] Bartram, Travels, pp. 230-235.

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cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with, and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated.

"The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle aged men, who perform the office of slaves or servants, pro tempore, come in together at the door, each having very large conch shells full of black drink, and advance, with slow, uniform and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, when they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripos or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or interesecting each other about midway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth, the slave utters or sings two notes, each of which continues as long as he has breath; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like a–hoo—ojah and a–lu—yah.[22] After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild cat or young tyger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattle-snake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbour's skin."[23]

[22] Possibly intended for Yahola and Hayuya (see pp. 485, 544).
[23] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448–452.

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

CEREMONY OF THE ASI

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[22a] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

[22a] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all southeastern tribes. See below.